

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 17437

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (MONDALE, WALTER F.)

SUBJ: MONDAL VISIT IN RETROSPECT

1. SUMMARY. BOTH SENATOR MONDALE AND HIS SOVIET HOSTS SHOULD HAVE REASON TO FEEL SATISFIED WITH THE SENATOR'S NOVEMBER 9-16 VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION - HIS FIRST SINCE 1969. WHILE THE PROMISED MEETING WITH BREZHNEV WAS NOT HELD BECAUSE OF THE SOVIET LEADER'S ILLNESS, MONDALE HAD AN UNUSUALLY LONG TALK (3 1/2 HOURS) WITH KOSYGIN AS WELL AS A TWO-HOUR CONVERSTATION WITH GROMYKO. MONDALE WAS TREATED LIKE A POTENTIAL PRESIDENT BY HIS SOVIET HOSTS, AND AN MFA OFFICIAL TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER FOLLOWING THE SENATOR'S DEPARTURE NOVEMBER 16 THAT HE HAD MADE AN EXCELLENT IMPRESSION ON THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. SOVIET HANDLING OF MONDALE REFLECTS A MORE RELAXED ATTITUDE TOWARD SENATORIAL VISITS - THE SOVIETS TOOK IN STRIDE MONDALE'S SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO MEET WITH A GROUP OF DISSIDENTS AND THE SENATOR'S HOSTS FACILITATED HIS REQUESTS TO INCLUDE THE U.S. PRESS IN A NUMBER OF HIS ACTIVITIES. END SUMMARY.

2. WHILE OBVIOUSLY DISAPPOINTED AT NOT SEEING BREZHNEV, MONDALE ACCEPTED THE REASON GIVEN BY HIS SOVIET HOSTS-  
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THAT THE GENERAL SECRETARY HAD FLU. HE SEEMED VERY

SATISFIED WITH HIS THREE-AND-A-HALF HOUR MEETING WITH KOSYGIN AND HIS TWO-HOUR TALK WITH GROMYKO. WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT KOSYGIN WAS TO BE SUBSTITUTED FOR BREZHNEV, THE SOVIETS TOLD MONDALE THAT A MEETING WITH PODGORNYY WOULD PROBABLY ALSO BE SET UP. IN THE EVENT IT NEVER WAS, FOR REASONS NOT EXPLAINED; IN ANY CASE, MONDALE APPEARED TO FEEL THAT 5 1/2 HOURS WITH LEADING POLITBURO MEMBERS WAS SATISFACTORY.

3. IN MOSCOW MONDALE ALSO MET, ON THE OFFICIAL SIDE, A.P. SHITIKOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF THE UNION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET; V.O. RUBEN, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES OF THE SUPREME SOVIET; V.D. SHASHIN, MINISTER OF PETROLEUM; V.S. ALKHIMOV AND A.N. MANZHULO, DEPUTY MINISTERS OF FOREIGN TRADE; V.A. TRAPEZNIKOV, FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; G.A. ARBATOV, DIRECTOR OF THE USA INSTITUTE; AND N.N. INOZEMTSEV, DIRECTOR OF IMEMO. HE ALSO GAVE A SPEECH ON DETENTE TO THE USA INSTITUTE AND PRESENTED AN INVITATION TO S.P. PAVLOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SPORTS, FOR THE SOVIET SKI JUMPING TEAM TO VISIT THE U.S. NEXT YEAR. IN ADDITION TO THE FAILURE TO MEET BREZHNEV, MONDALE WAS ALSO UNSUCCESSFUL IN GETTING APPOINTMENTS WITH LENINGRAD PARTY CHIEF ROMANOV, CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY PRONOMAREV, AND GOSPLAND HEAD BAYBAKOV.

4. UNOFFICIALLY, MONDALE MET IN MOSCOW WITH A GROUP OF U.S. BUSINESSMEN, WITH SOME 25-30 U.S. EXCHANGE STUDENTS STUDYING IN MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD, AND -- HIS LAST NIGHT IN THE SOVIET UNION -- WITH SOME SOVIET DISSIDENTS AT THE APARTMENT OF VIKTOR POLSKIY.

5. THE SENATOR ALSO VISITED LENINGRAD, KAZAN, AND THE KAMAZ TRUCK FACTORY AT NABAREZHNIYE CHELNY. IN LENINGRAD HE RECEIVED THE STANDARD FOREIGN VIP TREATMENT, BEING ENTERTAINED BY THE MAYOR, V.I. KAZAKOV, AND VISITING THE USUAL TOURIST ATTRACTIONS. THE RECEPTION IN KAZAN AND KAMAZ WAS MORE SPECIAL; MONDALE WAS RECEIVED IN KAZAN

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BY F.A. TABEYEV, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE TATAR ASSR PARTY, WHO ALSO ACCOMPANIED HIM TO THE TRUCK FACTORY. THE OFFICIALS IN KAZAN AND KAMAZ SEEMED BETTER BRIEFED THAN HIS LENINGRAD HOSTS ON HIS WORK IN THE SENATE AND HIS POTENTIAL AS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. MONDALE SCRUBBED A PLANNED VISIT TO NOVOSIBIRSK AND AKADEMRRORODOK BECAUSE HE HAD HEARD THAT SOME OF THE LEADING FIGURES WOULD NOT BE THERE AT THE TIME AND

BECAUSE HE WANTED AN EXTRA DAY IN MOSCOW TO NAIL DOWN HIS HIGH-LEVEL APPOINTMENTS.

6. THROUGHOUT HIS VISIT MONDALE'S SOVIET HOSTS TREATED HIM LIKE A POTENTIAL PRESIDENT, AND HIS RECEPTION WAS OSTENTATIOUSLY WARMER THAN THAT GIVEN SENATOR BUCKLEY, WHO WAS VISITING THE SAME WEEK. THE TREATMENT OF MONDALE WAS A STEP BELOW THE TREATMENT FOR SENATOR KENNEDY LAST APRIL. KENNEDY GOT A LENIN HILLS GUEST HOUSE, A SPECIAL PLANE, AND BREZHNEV'S FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER ALEKSANDROV AS A TRAVELLING COMPANION. MONDALE GOT A COMFORTABLE SUITE AT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' HOTEL (THE SOVYETSKAYA), TRAVELLED ON SCHEDULED FLIGHTS AND WAS ACCOMPANIED OUTSIDE MOSCOW BY V. L. KUDRYAVTSEV, IZVESTIYA MIDDLE EAST COMMENTATOR AND SECRETARY OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUP OF THE SUPREME SOVIET (HIS OFFICIAL HOSTS). ARBATOV OF THE USA INSTITUTE, WHO WAS AT THE AIRPORT FOR MONDALE'S ARRIVAL, WAS EXPECTED TO TRAVEL WITH THE SENATOR BUT, HAVING JUST RETURNED FROM A LONG TRIP ABROAD, PLED PRESSURE OF OFFICE WORK TO KEEP HIM IN MOSCOW.

7. THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE SOVIETS DID THEIR BEST TO SET MONDALE UP WITH BREZHNEV AND THAT THE OSTENSIBLE REASON FOR THEIR FAILURE -- BREZHNEV'S HEALTH -- WAS ALSO THE REAL ONE. THE 3 1/2 - HOUR MEETING WITH KOSYGIN WAS A CLEAR SIGN OF SOVIET RESPECT FOR MONDALE, SINCE KOSYGIN ALMOST NEVER GOES THAT LONG WITH ANY FOREIGNER. THE SOVIETS ALSO SHOWED AN UNUSUAL TOLERANCE FOR MONDALE'S REQUESTS. FOR ONE THING, THEY DID NOT RESIST MONDALE'S REQUEST TO TAKE MOSCOW-BASED U.S. JOURNALISTS ALONG WITH HIM TO LENINGRAD AND KAZAN/KAMAZ; IN FACT, THEY FACILITATED THEIR TRAVEL ARRANGEMENT (THREE ACTUALLY WENT) AND INCLUDED THEM IN CONFIDENTIAL

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ALL OF MONDALE'S OUTSIDE-MOSCOW TALKS WITH OFFICIALS. THE SUPREME SOVIET ALSO ARRANGED, ON LESS THAN A HALF-HOUR'S NOTICE, FOR U.S. WIRE SERVICES TO PHOTOGRAPH MONDALE AND KOSYGIN DURING THEIR MEETING. EVEN MORE STRIKING, THE SOVIETS MADE NO EFFORT TO BLOCK OR DISSUADE MONDALE FROM MEETING DISSIDENTS ON THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 15, DESPITE THE FACT THAT MONDALE GAVE ADVANCE NOTICE TO MFA USA DIVISION CHIEF KORNIYENKO THAT HE PLANNED TO MEET THE DISSIDENTS. (COMMENT: THIS IS A WELCOME SIGN THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES MAY BE COMING TO ACCEPT SOME OF THE IMPERATIVES OF U.S. POLITICS ON CONGRESSIONAL VISITS; AN MFA OFFICIAL TOLD AN EMBASSY THAT MONDALE'S DECISION TO SCHEDULE HIS MEETING WITH DISSIDENTS AT THE END OF HIS VISIT WAS A POSITIVE CONTRAST WITH SENATOR BUCKLEY'S VISIT TO THE SYNAGOGUE ON HIS

DRIVE IN FROM THE AIRPORT.)

8. MONDALE RECEIVED FAIRLY EXTENSIVE COVERAGE IN PRAVDA AND IZVESTIYA, WHICH REPORTED HIS ACTIVITIES EVERY DAY ON INSIDE PAGES(A MEETING WITH BREZHNEV WOULD HAVE BEEN CARRIED ON PAGE ONE). THE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE THRUST OF THEIR COMMENTS WAS TO QUOTE MONDALE ON THE USEFULNESS OF THE BREZHNEV-FORD SUMMIT.

9.MONDALE'S RELATIONS WITH THE EMBASSY WERE EXTREMELY CORDIAL. HE LUNCED TWICE WITH THE AMBASSADOR AT SPASO HOUSE, ONCE OFFICIALLY AND ONCE PRIVATELY. HE ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED THREE BRIEFING FROM THE AMBASSADOR -- AT THE OUTSET OF HIS VISIT AND BEFORE HIS MEETING WITH KOSYGIN AND GROMYKO. HE PREFERRED THAT EMBASSY OFFICERS NOT ACCOMPANY HIM ON HIS TALKS WITH SOVIET OFFICIALS, BUT HE AND HIS AIDE, DAVID ARRON, PROVIDED US FULL BRIEFING ON WHAT WENT ON. MONDALE ALSO ACCEPPTED WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO ARRANGE MEETINGS WITH DISSIDENTS ON HIS OWN WITHOUT EMBASSY ASSISTANCE. HE ARRANGED HIS APPOINTMENT THROUGH US CORRESPONDENTS. STOESSEL

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